# MINUTES

OF AN

#### ADJOURNED SESSION

OF THE

# AMERICAN CONVENTION

FOR PROMOTING THE

# abolition of Slavery.

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE, ,

CONVENED AT BALTIMORE,

he twenty-fifth of October, 1826.,

Baltimore:

Printed by order of the convention, Benjamin Lundy, printer.

:::::::::::::::

1828

# MINUTES.

At an Adjourned Meeting of the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c." held in the city of Baltimore, October 25th, 1826: The President being absent, the Vice-President, Daniel Raymond, Esq. took the Chair.—Edwin P. At Lee, Scaretary.

From communications, received from the Manumissian Society of New-York, the Convention of Abolition Societies of Western Pennsylvania, and the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, together with the minutes of the last Session of the Convention, it appears that the following gentlemen have been appointed to represent the undernamed societies in this Convention—viz.

# Rhode-Island. Hector Coffin.

New-York Manimission Society.

William L. Stone,

Theodore Dwight,

James Palmer, Joshua Underhill. Aaron Leggett,

Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

John Sergeant,

Solomon Temple,

Jonas Preston, Wm. Rawle, Jr. E. P. AtLee, Thos. Earle,

Isaac Barton,

Caleb Carmalt,

Thomas Shipley.

Maryland Anti-Slavery Society.

Daniel Raymond, William Kesley, Tristram Bowdle, I. N. Hoones,

John Allen,

J. H. Warfield,

Jno. S. Reese, David Harryman, Frederick Stier, W. C. Price.

۸

Western Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

Solomon Phillips, Jesse Kenworthy.

Manumission Society of Tennesses.

Benjamin Lundy.

The roll being called, the following Delegates were present, viz.

Wm. L. Stone,
James Palmer,
Isaac Barton,
Thos. Earle,
Solomon Temple,
E. P. AtLee,
D. Raymond,
Wm. Kesley,
Jno. Allen,
D. Harryman,
I. N. Hoopes,
Solomon Phillips,
Jesse Kenworthy,
B. Lundy.

Communications, from the Abolition Society of Monroe county, Ohio; from the Moral, Religious, Manumission Society of West Tennessee; from a Society at Andover, and one from William's College, Massachusetts, were also receiged.

The following members were appointed a Committee of Artangement and unfinished business—viz. T. Earle, W. L. Stone,

B. Lundy, J. Kenworthy, and D. Harryman. Adjourned, to meet at 7 o'clock, P. M.

October, 25th, 7 o'clock, P. M.

# Convention met .- Present,

W. L. Stone,
J. Palmer,
J. Barton,
S. Temple,
T. Earle,
E. P. AtLee,
D. Raymond,
W. Kesley,

D. Harryman, J. S. Reese, I. N. Hoopes, Jno. Allen, T. Bowdle,

B. Lundy,S. Phillips,J. Kenworthy.

Communications were received from the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudon, Virginia, and from the Manumission Society of North Carclina, by which it appears that David Smith, Daniel Janney, B. F. Taylor, and Wm. Holme are delegated to represent the former, and Benjamin Swaim the latter, in this Convention:—of whom, D. Smith, D. Janney, and B. Swaim, appeared and took their seats.

The Communications from the Societies of New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Williams College, and Andover, Massachusetts, were now read.

The following resolution, presented by Wm. Kesley, was, on motion, referred to the Committee of Arrangement:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation, generally, and to each of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

On motion, Adjourned to 10 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

October 26th, 10 o'clock, A. M.

# Convention met .- Present,

W. L. Stone,

J. Palmer,

I. Barton,

S. Temple,

T. Earle,

E. P. AtLee, D. Raymond,

W. Kesley,

B. Swaim.

J. S. Reese,

J. Allen,

I. N. Hoopes,

S. Phillips,

J. Kenworthy,

D. Smith,

D. Janney,

B. Lundy,

Addresses from the Delaware Abolition, and Maryland Anti-Slavery Societies, were received; which, together with the address previously received from Ohio, were now read.

Jos. G. Rowland, B. Ferris, and William Gibbons, took their seats as Delegates from the Delaware Society.

Jos. G. Rowland, Wm. Kesley, S. Temple, B. Sweim, and D. Janney, were appointed a Committee to examine the communications received from the several societies in different parts of the Union, and report what portion of them ought to be published, together with such observations on the remainder, as they may deem expedient.

The following resolutions were offered by W. L. Stone, read, and referred to the Committee of Arrangement—viz.

Whereas it is represented, by the great body of the owners of

slaves, that slavery is a great evil, and its continuance and increase fraught with many and appalling dangers; and whereas, the friends of emancipation are frequently called upon, by the proprietors of slaves, to devise some adequate means to rid the country, by a safe and gradual process, of a population, whose continuance among us is so unnatural, and whose rapid multiplication is so alarming: and whereas, some of the free Northern States have assisted, in former times, to entail this curse upon our land, by countenancing slavery themselves, and allowing their citizens to participate in the African Slave Trade: and whereas, the safety, perpetuity, and happiness of any one portion of these United States is alike dear to all. and whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, it is expedient for the Nation to put forth its strength in a concentrated effort to free itself from so great a curse, without a forcible interference with the rights of property, sanctioned by the Constitution: Therefore,

- 1. Resolved, That it be recommended to the Congress of the United States, to provide, without delay, for the gradual, but certain, extinguishment of slavery, and the transportation of the whole coloured population, now held in bondage, to the coast of Africa, or the island of St. Domingo, if such an arrangement can be made.
- 2. Resolved, That for the accomplishment of this purpose, upon principles of equity towards those who hold this species of property, the Congress of the United States be requested to create a fund of 3,000,000 of dollars, per annum, to be applied to the purchase and transportation of Slaves, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, until our soil shall no longer be polluted by the foot of a slave:—provided, that the slaves so to be purchased, shall consist, as nearly as possible, of an equal number of both sexes, between the ages of 16 and 45.
- 3. Resolved, That, as a portion of the fund so to be created, this Convention most cordially approves of the proposition, here-tofore submitted to Congress, to appropriate the public lands for that purpose.
- 4. Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to commence the great work of emancipation, by immediately abolishing slavery within the Dissist of Columbia, and

causing the persons, set at liberty, to be transported, either to Hayti, or the western coast of Africa, as they may prefer.

- Resolved, That it be recommended to the Congress of the United States to prohibit, by law, the rending asunder of the family ties of slaves, by the separation of husbands from their wives, and wives from their husbands, and of children from their parents, (while under the age of years,) by sales of parts of families into distant states or countries.
- 6. Resolved, That it be recommended by the Convention, to the Legislatures of the several slave-holding states, or any of them, where the marriage of slaves is not authorized or regulated by law, to provide for such marriages, guard their conjugal rights, and enforce their conjugal duties, by laws, corresponding with those which govern the whites in all civilized and Christian countries.
- 7. Resolved, That this Convention address a respectful memorial to Congress, embracing the several subjects referred to in the preceding resolutions; and also to the Legislatures of the several States, requesting their aid and co-operation in the measures here proposed.

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, as a general rule, ignorance and vice are inseparable companions, and the best way to make good servants, is to enlighten their understandings, and improve their hearts, by wholesome moral and religious instruction: and whereas, it is admitted, on all hands, that, sooner or later, the work of emancipation must be undertaken, and prosecuted to its completion; Therefore, and in order that the slaves may be better fitted to appreciate and enjoy the blessings of freedom.—

- S. Resolved, That it be recommended by this Convention, to the Legislatures of the several States where personal slavery exists, to repeal all Laws in any manner prohibiting the moral and religious instruction of Slaves.
- 9. Resolved, That the proprietors of slaves in the United States be respectfully requested, by this Convention, to encourage, by all possible means, the instruction of their slaves in reading, and the rudiments of a common English education, and the

leading doctrines of Christianity, by Sunday Schools, and such other means as may be within their power.

On motion, Wm. Gibbons, was added to the Committee of Arrangement, &c.

Adjourned, to 61 o'clock, P. M.

October 26th

# Convention met at 61 o'clock, P. M .- Present,

,	2. 22.
W. L. Stone,	I. N. Hoopes,
J. Palmer,	D. Smith,
I. Barton,	D. Janney,
T. Earle,	S. Phillips,
S. Temple,	J. Kenworthy,
E. P. AtLee,	B. Lundy,
W. Kesley,	B. Swaim,
D. Raymond,	J. G. Rowland
D. Harryman,	W. Gibbons,

T. Bowdle, J. S. Leese.

The minutes of the Acting Committee of the Convention, for the past year, were read and approved.

B. Ferris,

The Committee of Arrangement and unfinished business, made the following

#### REPORT:

The Committee of Arrangement and unfinished business, report the ensuing items of business, offered or commenced at fast session, and not completed,—

- I. The following resolutions, offered by T. Earle:
- 1. Resolved, That this Convention cordially approves of the proposition to appropriate the public lands of the United States to the Abolition of Slavery, and to the transpertation of the emancipated persons of color to such countries as they may choose for their residence.
- 2. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution.
  - 3. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draft a me-

morial to Congress, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

II. The following resolutions, offered by Isaac Barton:

- 1. Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is now incumbent upon the friends of the Abolition of slavery in the United States to give a decided preference to the products of Free Labor:—
- And that it is expedient that a moderate premium be offered on the articles of Sugar, Cotton, Rice, and Tobacco, which are accompanied by satisfactory evidence that they are the products of the labor of Freemen.

III. The following resolution, offered by S. Temple, in pursuance of the report of a Committee, of which D. Raymond was chairman, published in page 26 of the minutes of last session:

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address to each of the Societies, favorable to the abolition of slavery in the United States, that they exert themselves to promote the election of such representatives to Congress, as will use their influence in procuring the passage of a law, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, at a certain period.

IV. The following amendments to the Constitution, proposed by a committee, of which I. Barton was chairman:

- That the word and, immediately succeeding the word Secretaries, in Article 3d, be stricken out, and the words and three Counsellors, be inserted in the same Article, immediately succeeding the word Treasurer, and preceding the word who.
- 2. That the following constitute Section 6th, Art. 1st, viz. Section 6th. The Counsellers shall be ex-officio members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects as may claim the attention of the Convention.
  - V. The following resolution, offered by J. W. Rowland:

Resolved, That the 2d Article of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words, "in the city of Philadelphia," and inserting the words, in such place as the Convention may deter--mine, after the word "October."

VI. It is the duty of a Committee, consisting of Jos. W. Row-

land, B. Lundy, and T. Shipley, to report on the following resolution:

Resolved, That the subject of the transportation of slaves, from one state to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, quantum valent, be referred to a special committee, who shall report at the adjourned meeting of the Convention.

VII. It is the duty of a Committee, consisting of C. Carmalt, El. Coffin, and T. Shipley, to report on the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the colored population.

The Committee recommend that the Convention first take up for consideration, the unfinished business, in the order in which it is above exhibited: and that it next consider the following resolutions:

- 1. Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Manumission, Anti-Slavery, and Abolition Societies of the United States, to use their influence with the several State Legislatures, for procuring the passage of laws, which shall prohibit the separation of the families of slaves, by sales of parts of them to distant states or countries.
  - 2. Regulate the marriage contracts of slaves, and guard and enforce their conjugal rights and duties.
  - 3. And abolish all legal restrictions upon the instruction of the African race.
- II. Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation, generally, and to each of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.
- III. Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the members of the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, that they use their exertions for promoting the formation of similar societies in their respective states or vicinities.

The resolutions, contained in this report, include nearly all the principles embraced in those offered by Messrs. Stone and Kesley, and referred to the Committee. The Committee did not think fit to report the resolutions of those gentlemen, in full, as to do so would be to report propositions already before the Convention.

On motion, the Convention went into Committee of the Whole, to consider the foregoing report—D. Harryman in the Chair.

The Committee of the Whole rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

October 27th

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, A. M .- Present,

W. L. Stone,

B. Lundy.

J. Palmer,

D. Harryman,

I. Barton, S. Temple, J. S. Reese, W. Kesley,

T. Earle, E. P. AtLiee, J. G. Rowland, S. Phillips, J. Kenworthy,

J. G. Rowland, B. Ferris, W. Gibbons,

D. Smith,
D. Janney,
B. Swaim.

D. Raymond.

A Committee, consisting of B. Ferris, W. Kesley, W. L. Stone, and S. Phillips, was appointed to prepare an Address to the several Manumission, Abolition, and Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States.

The Convention then went into Committee of the Whole, on the report of the Committee of Arrangement, &c.—D. Harryman, in the Chair.

The Committee of the Whole rose, made report in part, and obtained leave to sit again.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the Whole, in adopting the following resolution, offered by T. Earle, at the last session, viz.—

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.—Whereupon, Wm. Gibbons, T. Earle, and J. S. Reese, were appointed to compose said Committee.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock, this afternoon.

October 27th, 3 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met.—Present, Palmer, Barton, Temple, AtLee, Earle, Raymond, Reese, Smith, Janney, Phillips, Kenworthy, Gibbons, Rowland, Ferris, Swaim, Lundy, Kesley.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by I. Barton, was adopted—viz.

Whereas, This Convention has been informed that a Digest of the existing Laws, of the several states, relating to Slaves and people of Color, will shortly be published in the City of Philadelphia: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Acting Committe be directed to subscribe for ten Copies of the said Digest, for the use of this Convention.

The Convention then went into Committee of the whole on the report of the Committee of Arrangement &c.——S. Temple in the Chair.

The Committee having risen, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow at eleven o'clock, A. M.

Oct. 28th 11 o'clock A. M.

Convention met—Present, Stone, Barton, Earle, Temple, AtLee Ferris, Gibbons, Rowland, Raymond, Kesley, Reese, Janney Kenworthy, Phillips, Swaim, Lundy.

The Committee to Examine the several Addresses &c. reported

The Committee to whom was referred the examination of the several addresses, presented to the Convention, agree to REPORT. That they have carefully examined all the Communications referred to them, and recommend to the Convention the publication of the following, in which they have made some alterations.

The Addresses from the New York Manumission Society, Western Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Massachusetts, Societies of Williams College and Andover, Delaware Abolition Soc ty, Maryland Anti-Slavery Society, North Carolina Manumission Society, Virginia Manumission and Emigration Society.

As to the Addresses from Ohio, and Tennessee, the Committee recommend a reference of them to the Acting Committee of the Convention, to make such extracts from them as may appear expedient.

J. G. ROWLAND, Chairman.

The foregoing report being adopted, the following are the ad-

dresses recommended to be published.

#### COMMUNICATION FROM NEW YORK.

To the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to meet in Baltimore, by adjournment of its Nineteenth Session, on the 25th day of October, 1826:

Being informed by the printed minutes of the last meeting of the American Convention, and also by a late communication from their Acting Committee, that a meeting of that body is appointed to be held by adjournment in Baltimore, on the 25th instant. The New York Manumission Society, at a special meeting convened for the purpose, resolved, that it is expedient to send Delegates, by whom this Society may be represented in the Convention. And for this purpose William L. Stone, James Palmer, Theodore Dwight, Joshua Underhili, and Aaron Leggett, were duly appointed.

Believing that the Convention itself would best be able to judge what subjects might most properly engage its attention, the Society conclude, that a formal Address was not requisite on the present occasion; and directed the Secretary to make such extracts from the minutes, as it might be proper to communicate. Agreeably to this direction the following are subjoined.

EXTRACTS FROM the MINUTES OF THE NEWYORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

Information being received that James Crosby, a free colored person from this city, has been for the last ten months, confined in the Jail of Petersburg, in the State of Virginia, as a runaway slave; and that documents sufficient to prove his freedom were presented to the authorities of the said place, who thereupon ordered his release; and that the said James Crosby is still held in

confinement, in consequence of a demand of the Jailor, for sundry expences said to have been incurred during his imprisonment, (in amount from 80 to 100 dollars,) the Society therefore adopted the following resolutions:-

1. Resolved, That the Standing Committee be requested to examine the circumstances of the case, and if the facts are found to be as stated, to take immediate measures, with the advice and assistance of counsel, to obtain a hearing before the proper authorities, and procure the release of the said James Crosby, if practicable, without regard to the demands of the Jailor.

2. Resolved, That if, in the opinion of the Committee, the said case is an eligible one, they are instructed to bring about a prosecution, on the ground of illegal confinement, with a view of obtaining a decision before the Supreme Court of the United States, testing the constitutionality of the law by which the said Crosby is confined.

3. Resolved, That Robert C. Cornell, Joseph Corlies, Thomas Leggett, Jr. Thomas Hale, and Israel Corse, be a Committee to provide the necessary funds for the prosecution of this business.

Agreeably to the request of the Convention, which gave rise to the practice, we present a list of our officers for the current year.

Cadwallader D. Colden, President. George Newbold, 1st Vice-President. Peter Augustus Jay, 2d Vice-President. Goold Brown, Secretary. Thomas P. Bowne, Assistant Secretary. Robert C. Cornell. Treasurer. Joseph Corlies, Register. Barney Corse, Chairman, } of the Standing Committee. Eli Vail, Secretary, Michael M. Titus, Chairman, of the Board of Trustees. Joseph W. Corlies, Secretary,

Dr. John Steams, Chairman, of the Committee of Secretary, Correspondence.

Joseph Corlies, Chairman, of the Committee of William C. White, Secretary, \ Ways and Means. Counsellors.

C. D. Colden.

William Johnson.

Benjamin Clark, Peter A. Jay, William Slossen, Thomas A. Emmett, Isaac M. Ely, Ira Clisbe.

Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the New-Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the New-York Manumission Society, held 10th month, (October,) 5th, 1826, CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, President.

GOOLD BROWN, Secretary.

Washington, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1826.
At a meeting of the Delegates, appointed by several Abolition Societies, formed in Washington and Fayette counties Pennsylvania, and convened at Washington, the following persons were present. viz.—

From the Western Abolition Society,

Jesse Kenworthy, Charles Wheeler.

Centreville Abolition Society, William Mc. Girr.

Western Manumission Society, William Griffith.

Brownsville Abolition Society, Robert Mc. Clure. Jesse Kenworthy was appointed Chairman, and Charles Wheeler Secretary.

- 1. R. solved, That the delegates, now present, reccommend to the several societies here represented, and others which may be hereafter formed, to appoint Delegates authorized to establish an annual Association for the Western District of Pennsylvania,
- 2. Resolved, That the next meeting be held in Washington, on the 1st. Tuesday in June 1827, at 11 o'clock A. M. and that the Secretary be required to furnish the delegates of each Society with a copy of this resolution.
- 2. Resolved, That we appoint Jesse Kenworthy and Solomon Phillips, (or either of them,) to attend at the next meeting at Baltimore, of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c.—And they are instructed to request the opinion of the Convention on the propriety of petitioning the proper authority, to prohibit the Internal Slave-Trade. The delegates

will likewise inform the Convention of the present standing, and prospects of the Abolition Societies in the western part of Pennsylvania.

4 Resolved, That Charles Wheeler be appointed to deliver an address at the next annual meeting.

Signed by order of the Convention of Delegates of the Abolition Societies of western Pennsylvania.

CHARLES WHEELER, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudoun, Virginia, held the 26th of the 8th Month 1826, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, viz —

Whereas it has been made known to this Society, that an adjourned meeting of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, will be convened at Baltimore on the 25th of October next, to be composed of Delegates from the various Societies for the Abolition of slavery in the United States; and as this Society has been invited to sendDelegates thereto; Be it therefore

Resolved, by the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudoun, that it is expedient for this Society to be represented therein.

Resolved, That four Delegates be appointed to attend the meeting of said Convention.

Resolved, That David Smith, Benjamin F. Taylor, Daniel Janney, and William Holmes, be prointed as delegates, in pursuance of the foregoing resolution and the Secretary is directed to furnish the said delegates with a copy of the preceding preamble and resolutions, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary.

YARDLEY TAYLOR, President,

HENRY S. TAYLOR, Secretary.

To "the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to be held at Baltimore.

The Delaware Society for promoting the abolition of slavery,

Sec. not having been represented in the last Convention held in Philadelphia, for reasons already assigned to your Acting Committee, are anxious on the present occasion, to make known to you, the deep interest which we continue to cherish for the advancement and altimate success of a cause, not only common to all abolitionists, but to every consistent philanthropist, christian and statesman throughout the world: and we take this opportunity to express our heartfelt satisfaction, and the lively encouragement afforded us, at witnessing the zeal of many of these throughout our country and elsewhere, in pleading the cause of an injured people, who continue to be deprived of their inherentights by the boasted friends of freedom!

But, in thus adverting to the glaring inconsistency which results from the unnatural and forced amaigamaticn of slavery with republicanism, let us ask ourselves the question, whether we whilst purchasing and using the products of the slave's labour, do not thus render ourselves fair objects for the apostolic rebuke-"Wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself." The power of habit and strength of appetite triumph over the dictates of reason, and our wavering resolutions; hence to abstain is found to be, generally, impracticable. But shall we continue thus to strengthen the fetters of the slave, to sharpen the goad, and nerve the arm of a cruel despotism? Forbid it humanity! To remove this painful discrepancy, there is still one resource left us;-to encourage, by every means in our power, the production of sugar, tobacco, rice, and cotton, by the hands of FREEMEN; and we reccommend it to the Convention to take such measures herein, as may promote this object.

Amongst the subjects likely to engage the consideration of the Convention, that of pressing upon the National Legislature the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, is one deeply interesting to us. A great European power deemed highly despote, has recently decreed that the moment a negro slave sets his foot on Austrian ground, or on board a vessel of that nation, he shall be free; and can our Government continue to cherish, in its very bosom, the highest and most cruel despotes in that the world has ever known, without becoming a by word and a reopeoach with all the nations of the earth?

The diffusion of instruction among the rising generation of the descendats of Africa, is also a subject the high importance of which we feel in common with yourselves. In addition to the school heretofore reported, another has been established in this place through the laudable exertions of the This school like the former colored people themselves. is conducted by one of their own colour. Both furnish ample testimony to the capacity of this people for literary acquirements, and of their being born to the same high destiny, with their white brethren. Let us continue our exertions to multiply, living evidences of these great truths, keeping in view, that whilst we are thus engaged to elevate the African from that debasement into which oppression has thrown him, we are weakening his chains; and that in conveying instruction to his mind, we are imparting, at once, the knowledge to appreciate, the capacity to enjoy, and the ability to maintain a virtuous freedom. But whilst engaged in the promotion of this object, we ought not to forget that as we live under a government established and maintained by the voice of the people, and and from which its essential character emanates; so the reform of all abuses must begin with the people, and hence that its progression rests on a conviction wrought in the minds of individuals, and that in part through the diffusion of light and knowledge among all classes of the community, on the particular subjects where reform is wanted.

Our society continues its exertions in favor of those illegally held in hondage. Several have been rescued since the last report, and a few cases still remain undecided. We have not relaxed our efforts with the Legislature of the state, for a law that shall fix a period, after which slavery shall cease to exist; and however unavailing our remonstrances hitherto, we are not without a hope of ultimate success. The subject of our application, having been left amongst the unfinished business of the house, will of course be called up again at the next meeting of the Legislature. The act passed by that body at its last session, at the instigation of a deputation from a neighboring state, in relation to fugitive slaves, cannot but be viewed by those at a distance as an ill omen to the success of our cause in this part of the union. We hope however, for the credit of our state, that this

foul stigma, brought on us by the weakness of a few individuals, will soon be removed by the voice of the people.

We have appointed as Delegates to attend the Convention, Joseph G. Rowland, Benjamin Ferris, Eli Hilles, Dr. William Gibbons.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c.

10 Mo. 16 1826.

JOHN WALES, President.

Samuel Hilles, secretary.

Williams College, August 28, 1326.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 24th ultimo, addressed to President Dewey, has been received, and laid before the Society. We are sorry to inform you that, under existing circumstances, it will be impracticable for us to send delegates to the meeting of the American Convention, agreeable to the request made by the Acting Committee. We hope that our Society will be the only one not thus represented. If we do not feel interested in the abolition of slavery from what we see, we do from what we hear of it, and from what we learn of its concomitant evils. We consider it as in direct violation of the natural rights of man; inconsistent with the spirit of christianity, and the fundamental principles of our Government, and as fraught with incalculable evils: not only to the slaves, but to the country. Enjoying, ourselves, the rights and privileges of freemen, we cannot feel indifferent to the degraded condition of so great a portion of our species; deprived as they are of the blessings of religion and intellectual improvement, by the cruel hand of oppression, we feel deeply for them. With such views of slavery, we resolved to form a society, in order more fully to acquaint ourselves with its extent and evils; and also to obtain more general information pespecting the efforts and exertions made in various parts of our country, to effect its entire abolition. It was our wish, not only to express our decided approbation of these efforts, but to cooperate in accomplishing so desirable an object, to the extent of

our ability; a duty which we owe to God, to our country, and to the oppressed.

A meeting of the society was held on the 4th of July, and an address delvered, comporting with the sentiments embraced in the articles of the Constitution. Most of the students in college and some of the faculty are members of the society, whose influence and talents are exerted in its behalf. Whether any new measures can be adopted, that shall effect an immediate abolition of slavery, and if so, what measures would be most expedient and effectual, we are unable to say .- Were it to be abolished immediately in the Southern States, by acts of the several Legislatures, perhaps it would in some degree endanger the public peace and tranquillity in that section of the country. No such results, however, would be anticipated, should the American Colonization Society obtain means adequate to the transportation of the slaves to the colonies. The settlements in Africa, we understand are in a flourishing condition, and hold out sufficient inducement for free people of color in this country to emigrate thither. Notice has been given that a petition will be presented to Congress at their next session by the Colonization Society, imploring the aid and patronage of the United States' Government. The wealth and resourses of our country are no doubt amply sufficient to defray the expenses necessary for the transportation of all the slaves, were they liberated. That they will be liberated immediately by law, perhaps it is more than reasonable to expect; yet we hope the time is not far distant. when this will be brought about.

A better spirit is beginning to be manifest among our Southern brethren: some of whom we rejoice to hear, have generously granted to the slaves in their possession their treedom. It is to be hoped that others will imitate their example, and that the people will continue to become more enlightened, and blessed to entertain more correct views in regard to slavery. A complete revolution will ere long be effected in the public mind. Manumission and Abolition Societies, we believe, have already done much towards awakening the citizens of our republic to a sense of duty. These efforts must be increased. The influence of all

must be enlisted .- More than Grecian and Roman eloquence must advocate the cause of the suffering sons of Africa-the press every week bears home its appeals to the bosom of the christian, the philanthropist and the psalmist, in language mild and gentle, yet as bold and resistless as the imperious mandate You suggest also that we could communicate the state of slavery in this part of the country, and the views generally entertained in regard to it. You must be aware that there are no slaves in the New-England States, except a few in Connecticut, and Khode Island. Our ancestors were for a time slave holders: the number of slaves however was never large, and they have all been since liberated. Although removed at some distance from the scenes of slavery, yet the people in this part of the country are not wholly indifferent to the evil. Living in a nation where it exists, and feeling it to be a national sin, as well as a national evil, they are anxious that this foul stain should be wiped from the annals of our country, and that the judgments of Heaven, which we so justly merit, and which the alarming extent of the evil seems to portend, may be averted. As they are becoming more informed and enlightened in regard to the rights of man, they are becoming more and more impressed with the truth that all men are born free and equal, and that to deprive them of the enjoyment of those rights, to which all are equally entitled by the laws of nature and of nature's God, is not only unjust, but highly desogatory to the character and dignity of any nation. It appears to be the conviction of people generally in this part of the country, that the time has arrived, when it is necessary to feel as well as speculate, and to ect as well as feel, if we would put a stop to the inhuman traffic, which is now carried on by civilized nations, or if we would meliorate the condition of . the suffering Africans. There is manifestly a spirit of increasing interest in regard to Colonization Societies. It is the general opinion, that it would be better for the free people of color themselves, as well as for the country, if they were conveyed to the colonies in Africa. Though efforts are made to improve the moral and intellectual condition of the few negroes among us, by affording the means of knowledge imparted in our daily and Sabbath schools; yet a greater proportion of them, compared

with the white population, are yearly returned as convicts in our penitentiaries. The expences for the imprisonment of these convicts exceed, yearly, what would be necessary to transport them to one of the colonies, where they might enjoy the advantages of religious and intellectual improvement, and at the same time subject them to such regulations, and instructions as would be better calculated to restrain them from the commission of vices than the laws of our country. In the state of New-York, there are few slaves, The prevailing sentiments in that state respecting slavery, are similar to those of the New England slaves arrived at a certain age, are to be free—after the present year, and at no very distant period, it is probable this right will be extended to all.

Thus while the friends of humanity may have something to discourage them in their efforts to meliorate the condition of the slaves, and effect the entire abolition of slavery, they have much to give them encouragement. There is no doubt a better state of things in reserve for this wretched and degraded people. Providence appears to be pointing out the path of duty to us, as individuals, and as a nation. The question whether the negroes shall be free, is settled; for the Almighty will undertake their cause. What remains to be developed, is whether in the mysteriousness of His ways, he designs to visit our nation in wrath, and suffer the history of its ruin to be written by the blood of its citizens for the admonition of all succeeding ages.

Drawn up and forwarded, by the direction of the Acting Committee of the Society.

J. M. SADD, Vice-President.

F. W. Hubbard, Scoretary.

Andover, Massachusetts, October 12th, 1826.

Mr. Barron. Sir: I received your letter requesting the association, with which I am connected, to send a delegate to the Convention, to be assembled at Baltimore. The association felt much interest in your invitation—and as they believe that many and great advantages may be gained by a free communication of views and feelings of men engaged in the same cause, they would rejoice to comply with your request, but their circumstances do not permit them. They have directed me to reply to your communication and to state their views and feelings on this subject, with such information as may be useful.

With respect to slavery itself, we, of course, have nothing of it amongst us; measures securing immediate, or gradual emancipation, having been adopted by all the New England States, during, or directly after, the war of the revolution. Our whole colored population amounts to from 15,000 to 20,000. These are found chiefly in the large towns of M seachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. In this state, (Massachusetts,) and I believe in all the New England States, the laws make no distinction between them and white citizens, in point of civil and religious privileges. Good free schools are provided for them in nearly all the large towns, and our community, instead of treating them with that criminal neglect with which they have heretofore been treated, is beginning to be interested in their cause, and to make efforts to enlighten and clevate them.

Within the last four years, the people of New England have felt much additional interest in the condition and prospects of the colored population of the southern parts of our country. This has been occasioned by agents from the American Colonization Society, by addresses on this subject on the 4th of July, and discussions in the public papers. From the effects which causes like these have produced, it is evident that this interest may be increased to almost any extent, when these causes shall operate throughout our community, and with all that power with which they may be made to operate on the minds of men. We may, therefore, probably consider the great and immediate object to be aimed at, in order to secure effect in the cause of emancipation, to be, the presenting slavery before our countrymen in its true aspect, and fairly turning their minds towards it. On this account we regard, as peculiarly auspicious, that temperate discussion of the subject which is becoming more prevalent. We would not shrink from making plain and full representations of

the case as it is, but we think the truths stated, and the manner of stating them should be such, as shall be designed and adapted, not to make men angry, but to convince them, and excite themto active co-operation in this cause. The advocates of African emancipation, surely have enough of necessary difficulty, already existing to contend with, without arraying against themselves an angry opposition. Every thing should be kept within the limits of truth-nothing stated as prevalent, which is only of rare occurrence-nothing stated with anger and taunt. the subject should be kept before the public mind constantly:the wrongs which the Africans have suffered from the hands of our fathers; which they are now sufferring from our hands; their being deprived of all the rights, which belong to them as men; the fact that slavery makes such a wide intellectual rum-2,000,000 of minds which ought to be enlightened and active, are by it made to be ignorant and debased-lost to themselves and to the world-festering in their own pollution-2,000,000 immortal souls passing into eternity each generation-yet cut off by legislative acts from almost all the privileges and hopes of christianity.

We regard most favorably, also, the American Colonization Society-not because we think it grasps the subject with sufficient strength and boldness for us here at the north, but because it is exciting the sympathies of the people in behalf of the Africans, and showing what a free, civilized, and christian community of Africans is. We regard in the same way, emigration to Hayti, Miss Wright's institution in the west, and the Kosciusko school; not because one or all of them can with their present resources, and in their present mode of operating, or with any resources or in any mode of operating, which they have immediately in prospect, accomplish the emancipation and proper settlement of all the Africans of our country, but because these plans for nieliorating the condition of the Africans, as they are presented to the community, will call the attention of men to the general subject, awaken their sympathies, and get them accustomed to doing good to the Africans; and thus an additional number of minds will be enlisted in their cause; greater vigor will be given

to the present plans; new plans will be devised; new and greater efforts will be made to execute them; and thus the desired result will be wrought out. We feel, therefore, that, while the most efficient modes of operating should be sought after, and a proper discrimination made among those which have been proposed, yet none should be discouraged, or spoken lightly of.

We think great pains should be taken to make the people all over our country understand what slavery is—its bearing and influence on these who are held in bondage—its influence on the wealth, the political strength, the spirit of enterprise in the nation, on the individual prosperity, and the morals of the slave-holding states; so that as far as possible the statesman, the philanthropist, and the christian, may be interested in removing it. To accomplish this, concise, judicious views of slavery, in particular districts, might contribute much. Small tracts representing slavery in some of its particular aspects and bearings, supported by general and incontrovertible facts (indeed facts should be the great thing) might also help forward the cause, especially in those states where slavery does not exist. This is a method which our association has adopted, and intends to pursue.

Much, we suppose, might be said at the South, to develope the principles, and show the criminality of slavery. We suppose it could be shown to be just as absurd and abominable, to keep up, and soberly design to perpetuate, a state of society, where slavery, like our African slavery, is a part, as it would be to design and perpetuate a state of society, where murder and piracy were to be committed every day, and according to law. And we suppose it could be so exhibited, that all men of humanity and religious principle, would revolt just as much from placing themselves in a situation, there they must hold slaves as they are now held, as they would from placing themselves in a situation where they must commit murder or piracy. But in doing this it would be necessary to show plainly wherein the crime of slavery consists; not simply in the fact that our southern brethren have slaves in their possession, or that they do not turn them loose, ignorant & helpless on the community; but in their taking no prospective measures to meliorate their condition& fit fliem to enjoyfreedom.

in order to place fairly before the eyes of the people of this country, an image of what slavery is, and to enable them to see the extent to which the rights of the Africans are outraged—we think it would contribute much, to publish a book exhibiting slavery as it exists in law, containing the slave codes in the several States. Also, (what would be a more delicate and difficult task,) exhibiting slavery as it exists in fact; how far these laws are gone into disuse, and how far they are evaded; how much protection they are designed to afford the slave, and how much they do actually afford. This would be a powerful method of operating on the minds of a free people, and at the same time, one that could not reasonably be objected to: for the people of the South could not reasonably object to having the contents of their statute books laid open, or to having a fair exposition made of the real state of their slaves.

We here, wish very much to know, what the creed of the Southern people, is on this subject and what are their expectations.—Do they wish and intend that any thing shall be done to meliorate the condition of their slaves?—Why will they not begin now?—Or do they expect and wish slavery to be perpetual?—Do they generally justify it, or bear it as an evil that cannot be remedied?

We, here, feel this to be a national subject—we feel that we have a right, and are bound, to be interested in it. And it would afford us great satisfaction to be present at your meeting—but after this expression of our feelings, we can only say—may Divine wisdom guide your deliberations, and may your efforts be tollowed by success.

In behalf of the Committee;

Most respectfully yours,

DAVID GREENE.

# COMMUNICATION FROM MARYLAND.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.

Viewing, with much concern, the increasing and portentious evils resulting from the system of slavery in this Republic; and feeling an anxious solicitude for the welfare of its citizens, and the perpetuity of its free institutions, the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland hails with pleasure the assemblage of delegates from kindred associations, to devise plans and propose measures for the termination of that system, and the consequent removal of those evils.

It is well known that the victims of this cruel and barbarous practice, are not only deprived of their Heaven-born rights, and reduced to a state of degradation and distress: but it has a positive and invariable tendency to waste the morals of the nation; diminish the virtue of its citizens; enervate and enfeeble it in every point of view; and cause the total ruin of its proudest monuments of Wisdom & Justice. In short, the very principles upon which the government of the United States is based, and the plan upon which its Laws are administered, are constantly violated—are continually undermined—are even subject to the most destructive pollution—while the corrupting influence of Slavery is suffered to operate against them.

It is but little more than a year since the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland took its rise and assumed a rank among the benevolent institutions of our country. Its views the principally directed to the extinction of slavery in this state, are not wholly confined to that subject. The total abolition of the slave-system throughout this growing and flourishing republic, is not only a consummation devoutly to be wished, but an object of diligent and ardent pursuit, by every one who has thoroughly embraced the Anti-Slavery cause. It requires no great stretch of ingeneity to prove, that if all are interested in the extinction of this national evil, all have a perfect right to give their counsel in the devising of plans for effecting the purpose in contemplation.

We conceive that much good may be effected by all local associations, in collecting and disseminating information on the various subjects connected with the system of Slavery. The people generally want light. A deliterious custom has spread her sevenfold mantle over the land.—Long habit and inveterate prejudice has woven a veil of almost impenetrable texture, that effectually

shuts out the rays of true knowledge from the mind, relative to the identical condition of the fetter'd African. A general apathy prevails, and the major part of our citizens are securely resting in awful quietude, while the thunders of impending danger, are becoming louder and louder. There are many ways in which the local societies might contribute towards the dissemination of knowledge, that would effect a change in the aspect of affairs to which we have alluded: but the immediate and principal objects of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, have been to investigate the state of slavery in this section of country; to call the attention of the people to the subject by means of addresses, verbal and written; to circulate publications devoted to the cause; and to promote the election of Candidates for the Legislature, favorable to the enactment of laws for the gradual, the certain abolition of slavery, in this state.

The measures of a general nature, which we feel the most desirous to recommend, are to memorialize and petition Congress and the State Legislaturer on the subject of gradually emancipating the slaves, and placing them in situations to enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are entitled by nature and justice—to devise plans for the most effectual prevention of the internal slave trade, and kidnapping of free persons of color—to recommend experiments in producing the staple commodities of slave-holding countries by free labor, in order to show the relative advantages thereof, even in a pecuniary point of view—and to encourage the publication of such works as are calculated to subserve the great end and aim of these societies.

We consider the propositions of Messrs. King and Tucker in the Congress of the United States, to devote a portion of the wealth of the nation to the abolition of slavery &c. as extremely important, and deserving the attention and support of our statesmen and citizens generally. We also highly approve the measure proposed by Mr. Miner, in the House of Representatives of the United States, for the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, under the immediate control of the General Govern-

ment. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise that the district here alluded to, consecrated as it is to the use of the nation, a vast majority of whose citizens detest the very idea of oppression, has not only been suffered thus long to wear the badge of tyranny, but is actually made the grand emporium of a traffic in human flesh and blood, for which we can seldom find a parrallel in the universe! But it is impossible that this state of things shall last much longer. Slavery will soon be exterminated from the soil dedicated to freedom and justice, and on which is erected the sacred Fane of Republicanism. The galling fetter and the clanking chain cannot much longer pollute that hallowed spot .-And may we not hope that the extinction of slavery there, will be but the prelude to its speedy annihilation in the sourthern states, and consequently the whole of North America? The fact is not to be disguised, that parties are now forming throughout the United States, which will be designated, respectively, as the advocates, or opponents, of Universal Emancipation. To this it must come, sooner or later. It will, in the the nature of things, be impossible to prevent it. Arduous will be the strife of words, and sore the conflict of opinion, but the ballot-box must eventually decide in favor of reason, justice, and republican principle.

The number of slaves in this state, at present, may be estimated at about one hundred thousand. The free blacks amount to about fifty thousand.

The state and condition of the slaves in Maryland, is not to be considered so deplorable, perhaps, (in one sense of the word) as in some other parts of the United States.—Their treatment generally, is said to be mild, in comparison with that experienced by those in more southern latitudes. Yet, we feel warranted in saying, that in no state in this confederacy are they more subject to the painful and distressing evils of family separation, and the grievous consequences resulting from it. Slave Labor with us is considered unprofitable; and the principal inducement to support the system of slavery, is the profits arising from the traffic in slaves. This appears the more odious and disgusting when

we reflect that the nation has most unequivocally set its seal of condemnation upon the practice of trading in human flesh and blood. How long this wicked traffic will be suffered to disgrace our country, it is not easy to foretell, but we have little hope of its being fairly interdicted, while slaves are held as chattel property. There are too many ways in which the most wholesome laws may be evaded, while interest, real or mistaken, operates as an inducement thereto. We consider, therefore, that the only effectual measure that can be devised for the abolition of this fractual measure that can be devised for the abolition of this trade, is the emancipation of the slave population, And owing to the seemingly insurmountable prejudices existing among the white people against this unfortunate race, it will, probably, be good policy to encourage the removal of as many as may consent thereto, to foreign lands.

It is a fact, worthy of particular notice, that the advocates of slavery, in this part of the United States, are driven to the necessity of openly admitting the soundness of the doctrines advanced by their opponents. They have retired from the field of argument, as far as it relates to the abstract justice of the principle of Universal Emancipation.—But they start difficulties respecting the mode of proceeding, alleging that it will be extremely impolitic to emancipate the slaves, upon any other condition than that of their removal from this country. So far have they yielded in their admissions of late that many have said they would give up their slaves, provided they could be transported to some foreign place, without expense to them. There are a considerable number, no doubt, who are sincere in these professions: though some, we have reason to believe, have held forth the language for no other purpose than to rid themselves of the odium attached to the avowed advocates of slavery. But in either case the ground, upon which they have thus entrenched themselves, is now removed, and they must comply with their professions, or resort to some new expedient in order to sustain their reputation for cander and truth. We have the pleasure to state that, independent of the plan of the African Colonization Society, arrangements have been made for the removal of emancipated slaves

from the United States to the Republic of Hayti, without exapence to the people of this country. Provision has also been made for their support when they may arrive in that island, until they shall be properly prepared to take care of themselves. An agency has been established in the city of Baltimore for the purpose of transporting thither such as are permitted to go; and we shall soon see whether those who hold their fellow creatures in bondage, will consent to part with them upon these terms or not.

It is extremely gratifying to look hack a few years, and mark the advancement of the great and important work, which we have undertaken. The ball of political reformation has rolled onward, with astonishing velocity. Millions of the human race have been raised from the lowest degradation—have been enfranchised, and invested with the rights pertaining to human dignity. How consoling are these reflections to the bosom of philanthropy!—how cheering to the heart of patriotism!—how encouraging to the laborers in this holy cause! Let then each one press forward with renewed zeal—with firm, unwavering step—and the most glorious success will, ere long, crown their noble and virtuous deeds.

The Anti-Slavery society of Maryland consists, at present, of five branches. The number of its members is about 240. The different branches are represented in a convention of delegates, which holds its meetings regularly in the city of Baltimore. The names of the officers of this convention, for the present year, are as follows:

John S. Reese, President.
Frederick Stier, Vice-President,
Isaac N. Hoopes, Recording Secretary,
B. Lundy, Corresponding Secretary,
John Needles, Treasurer.

Signed by order of the Maryland Convention.

J. S. REESE, President,

ISAAC N. Hoopes, Secretary.

## COMMUNICATION FROM N. CAROLINA.

To the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to be assembled in the City of Baltimore, on the 25th of October, 1826.

The Manumission Society of N. Carolina return their sincere acknowledgements, for the public invitation they have received to be represented in the Convention. At the present time, when public attention is more than ordinarily excited to the evil of slavery, it is highly important that all the friends of emancipation should co-operate; that their energies should be concentrated; and their measures directed by the counsels of successful experience. We, therefore, duly appreciate the advantages that would doubtless result from our being represented in the approaching session of the Convention, and deeply regret the existence of circumstances, which render the attendance of Delegates necessary, at this time, impracticable,

As the best and only substitute in our power, we forward a written communication, in which we have given a concise account of the condition of Slavery, as it exists in this State, with the views of the Society relative to its entire abolition.

A VIEW OF THE CONDITION OF SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS IN N. C.

### I. Of the Increase of Slaves,

The number of slaves in N. C. which at the taking of the last census was so great, and born to large a proportion to the whole population of the State, is rapidly increasing, depending mostly on births, there being but few introduced from other states. There are not many slaves removed from N. C. except by emigrants.

#### II. Of the Value of Slaves.

A family of slaves, consisting of women, children, & superannuated, as well as able bodied labourers, humanely treated, will barely support themselves. A select number of slaves, in which there is a large proportion of laboring men, if economically managed, may be profitable. It is however evident, that the value of slaves is greatly depreciated, owing not only to the low prices of produce, but also to the exhausted state of the soil. III. Of the effect which the slave holding system has in impoverishing the soil.

The proprieter of a number of slaves in Carolina, willing to avoid the constant sight of degraded humanity, intent on the pursuit of recreation, or plunged into dissipation and debauchery, generally confines his slaves to the care of an overseer. overseer is generally dependant for his remuneration on a portion of the produce he may raise. Regardless of the future condition of a farm in which he has no permanent interest, his object is only to make it yield the most he can for the present, and sothoughtless are the proprietors as to applaud and encourage this mode of culture, as most conducive to their own interests. No system of improvement being adopted, the soil constantly run, is soon exhausted. Now the work of improvement requires a degree of reflection & economy, for which the overseer is incompetent, & the proprietor has no taste; but the clearing of land requires little more than the labour of the slaves. More land therefore is cleared, cultivated as above stated, & impoverished. The consequence is, that many portions of the state, originally the most fertile, are now become sterile wastes. To the effect which this state of things has on the condition of the unhappy slaves, we may again have occasion to advert.

#### IV. Of the Treatment of Slaves.

The condition of Slaves is more or less wretched according to the number thrown together in a given tract of territory. In the eastern parts of the state, the slaves considerably out-number the free population. Their situation is there wretched beyond description. Improvepished by the mismanagement which we have already attempted to describe, the master, unable to support his own grandeur & mantain his slaves, puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their susterance, so that a great part of them go half naked & half charved much of their time. In the middle and western part of the state, where the slaves are less numerous, and rural economy less perverted by slavery, their treatment is some better: indeed, it is true, that, in every part of the State, there are

slaveholders who treat their slaves with all possible humanity—or rather, as much humanity as is consistent with their continuance in a state of slavery. But generally, throughout the State, the African is an abused, a monstrously outraged creature. No where does he enjoy those stimuli to good & great actions, which render a man emulous of character, and without which, no one ever thought of raising himself to respectability.

## V. Of the Slave Law.

Perhaps we can in no way exhibit a more correct view of the state of slavery among us, than by distinctly noticing a few of the most prominent features of the slave-law.

1st. The law requires that slaves shall be fed on an allowance of "at least a quart of corn a day."

2nd. Marriage between slaves is totally unknown to the law. The negroes, however, have formed for themselves a sort of nuptial ceremony, which seems to answer the purpose tolerably well, so long as they are permitted to live together. But wives & husbands, children and parents, may be seperated at the pleasure of the owner, the law imposing no sort of restraint in that respect.

Srd. The law takes no notice of Fornication, Adultery, Incest, Polygamy, &c. among slaves. The sensual appetite is left to be gratified by promiscuous indulgence, without any restraint, except what the negroes voluntarily impose on themselves.

4th. The law affords no protection to the chastity of the coloured female, whether married or single.

5th. A person of mixed blood, to the third generation, can in no case, become a witness against a white person.

6th. The slave is protected in none of the rights of private property. So particular is the law in this respect, that if a slave be permitted by his master to raise for himself, or claim live stock of any kind, such stock is liable to be seized and sold to public uses.

7th. If the master permit his slave to hire his own time, such slave may be taken up as a runaway, and, if the master do not interfere, he may be sold for the use of the state.

Sth. If a slave, of any description, be found from home, without a written permit, he is liable to be whipped by any Constable, or Patroller, or even by a private person, finding him on his own ground.

9th. No slave can be liberated, except for "meritorious services, to be judged of and allowed by the Court." The master is not permitted to judge the merits, of his services.

10th. There is no law of the State, co-operating with the laws of Congress, to prevent the foreign slave trade. Nor is there any law to prevent the introduction of slaves from other slave States.

To these brief captions, we might add many more, equally oppressive; but it is unnecessary. The foregoing view may serve as a correct specimen of the slave system now in full force in N. C. so far, at least, as it is maintained by the strict letter of positive and established law: nor is the general practice of the times more lenient: nay, daily observation assures us, that many, destitute of fellow-feeling, overleap even the bounds of legal restraint, and tyrannize over their slaves with the most wanton and cruel barbarity.

VI. Of the ignorance, depravity, and moral degradation of Slaves.

If the harsh treatment of our slave population is pitiable, their ignorance, depravity, and moral degradation, are still more to be deplored & commisserated. As if it were not enough that their mortal existence should be one continued scene of privation and sufferings, they are too generally left destitute of the knowledge & means accounted requisite for securing their everlasting welfare; and this too often by professing christians; nay more, by ministers of the gospel! The maxim of slave masters, in common with other tyrants, is, the more ignorance, the more safety. The slaves are, therefore, studiously kept in a state of mental' darkness; and the efforts of benevolence, should they be directed to the removal of this mental cloud, would be interdicted and condemned, by their masters, as an officious intermeddling with the concern of others. Whilst the christian philanthrophists of the age are endeavouring to enlighten and christianize the heathen nations in every quarter of the globe, they have the mortification

to behold, in the midst of a nation, the most celebrated for free institutions & christian liberty, two million of immortals, to whom their benevolent exertions can never extend. Send them the missionaries, they have no opportunity to hear them. Send them the Bible—send them tracts, they cannot read them. Establish schools for their benifit, they have not leave nor lessure to attend them. We are, however, happy to state, that there are some noble examples of masters willing to encourage the religious instruction of their slaves; and pious ministers condescending enough to instruct them.

# VII. Of Emigration.

Slaveholders, as might be expected, uniformly emigrate to the western and south-western states; whilst those who are sentimentally opposed to slavery, as uniformly emigrate to the north-western states.

VIII. Of the effect which the Slave-holding System has on the White Population.

In those parts of N. C. where the slave population is numerous, the whites may be divided into two great classes, widely seperated from each other; viz. the Rich, and the Poor. The former have monopolized all the most valuable land, which being cultivated by their own slaves, the latter seem to be useless member of society. They are indigent and wretched indeed, slighted & despised, ignorant & depraved. In the enjoyments of life, they are but one step above the slaves themselves. In the exercise of their political immunity, they are too ignorant to think, too dependent to act, as freemen. The rich, having their labour performed by their slaves, are mostly independent of the poor. Of the sentiment of Slaveholders in regard to the evil of Slavery,

and to the work of Emancipation.

Many slaveholders sensible of the evils of slavery, are candid enough to acknowledge it, & express a wish that it were otherwise; yet so habituated are they to view their slaves as a part of their property, so intimately is the system interwoven with their mode of life, and domestick economy, that they strive to think the evil void of remedy; and so convinced are they of the

futility of their claim to this kind of property, that the gentlest

attempt to agitate the subject, or the slightest hint at the work of emancipation, is sufficient to call forth their indignant resentment, as if their dearest rights were invaded Others, with a noble dis-interestedness that does them the highest honour, have dismissed their prejudices, and united heart and hand in the cause of humanity.

We have exhibited the state of slavery, as it exists in N. C. more at length than we had at first intended. We have neither exaggerated, concealed, or palliated, any circumstance of importance that presented itself, as being connected with the subject. We have confined ourselves to the statement of facts, without drawing inferences, or alluding to remote political consequences. It yet remains to explain our view with regard to the abolition of slavery. To make ourselves intelligible, on this point, we find it necessary to introduce it with a brief history of our Society.

The Manumission Society of North Carolina was first organized in the year 1816. Five or six Branches were soon formed in the counties of Guilford and Randolph. These Branches continued, for a year or two, to meet with alacrity, and to discuss with spirit, but so gloomy was the prospect, that the Advocates of Emancipation gradually cooled; their energy abated; & in the beginning of the year 1823, the society was on the point of dissolution. At length, however, it was resolved to make another vigorous effort. The Constitution was revised, & rendered a little more broad and general in its features. Discreet men were appointed to earry the fundamental principles of the Society into the surrounding country, and explain them fairly to the poeple. The result was, that popular prejudice in some degree subsided. New Branches were formed in every direction; & all has been life and spirit for two years past. There are now upwards of forty Branches, in the connexion, besides several female Associations, extending into seven or eight of the largest and most populous counties in the state.

The fundamental principles of our Society are:

1st, Emancipation should be gradual.

2nd, It should be accompanied with foreign Colonization.

3rd, It should be universal.

We have, as yet, acquired comparatively nothing towards the consummation of our object. We have done little more than enrol the names of such as we found friendly to the cause, and willing to lend their aid. It is evident we can do but little towards removing the evil, till the friends of emancipation acquire an ascendancy in the Legislature. Our voice cannot yet be heard with the General Assembly. Our humble petitions have been voted to lie on the table. Not even a Committe has been appointed to inquire into the cause of complaint, except that of 1824, who reported "the subject is one, that does not require Legislation."

From this view of the subject, we conceive that the course most proper for us to pursue, is, to agitate the subject amongst our fellow citizens; to show in glaring colours the enormity of the evil, its impolicy, its danger, its inconsistency with our political institutions, and with our holy religion; to arouse the unthinking; to interest the indifferent to a sense of justice, and feeling of humanity; and, if possible, to subdue the prejudices, and conciliate the favor, of those at present inimical to our designs; until we shall finally be able to speak with a voice that must be heard; and to make a petition that must be answered.

Should we be successful in gaining an influence in the Legislature of the state, we may probably pursue something like the following plan.

1st. Have laws passed prohibiting Slaves from being brought into the state or carried out of it.

2nd. A law to permit such masters as desire to manumit their slaves to do so.

3rd. A law to permit slaves to make contracts with their masters, by which they may purchase their own freedom.

4th. A law providing for the education of slaves.

5th. A law providing that, after a certain time, all persons shall be born free.

We may however find occasion to vary this plan, so as to adapt it to varying circumstances, and the exigencies of the times. Though we hold it as a fundemental principle that, in the mean time, the work of Colonization should progress, so as to remye the people of color that may from time to time be liberated and prepared, yet as a Society, we intend not to interfere with that subject.

Thus have we exposed our views, and our situation, which we hope the Convention will take under consideration, and forward us an address suited to our circumstances. Surrounded as we are by interested opponents, who are constantly striving to misrepresent our motives; located in the heart of the evil we would remove; remote from other associations of the same kind; we stand in need of encouragement, advice, and aid. It is very apparent that the evil of slavery has of late excited much sensation in the south, especially in this state and in Virginia. We doubt not but the hearts of many men, of the first respectability, are favorable to the cause; and that they would cordially unite their effort with ours, were they made acquainted with our views.

MOSES SWAIM, President.

WILLIAM SWAIM, Secretary,

The Committee of the whole having made a final report, the particulars of which will appear in the subsequent proceedings of the Convention, was discharged.

On motion of S. Phillips, it was

Resolved, That it be recommended to the different Aboltion, Manumission, and Anti-Slavery Societies, in the United States to collect and forward to the Convention, such duly authenticated testimony in relation to the treatment of Slaves, in regard to food, clothing, and punishment for petty offences, as may come within their knowledge.

The Committee appointed on the morning of the 27th inst. to draft a Memorial to Congress, praying the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, reported the following, which was adopted.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the the United. States of America, in Congress Assembled.

## THE MEMORIAL,

Of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race, Respectfully sheweth,

That your Memorialists, acting in accordance with the original design of their association, and prompted by their love of country, and the paramount obligations of christianity, earnestly solicit your attention to the condition of a portion of the population of the Territory over which your honourable body holds exclusive jurisdiction.

It is now fifty years since the Representatives of the American people, in Congress assembled, declared to the world, as propositions self-evident, that all men are born equal, and possessed of certain inaleniable rig. s, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. But this Congress one of the greatest, and most dignified bodies that the world ever saw, having but limited jurisdiction, could not bring these declarations into uncontroled operation: they gave them forth as the earnest of our future inheritance. Neither has the constitution, framed since that period, granted such a power to their successors, in regard to the individual States.

Yet there is one spot, over which that instrument invests Congress with an unrestricted privilege, to sway the righteous sceptre held forth by the great Fathers of our country. To this spot the eyes of the friends of equal rights are directed; and altho? half a century has been afforded to mature, and put in practice the principles of free government, they still behold, even there, an odious system of oppression—they find the natural repository of Freedom a depot for Slaves.

Thousands of the African race, purchased (some kidnapped,) for a distant market, in the surrounding country, are continually concentrated in this district, where the sounds of the clanking fetters mingle with the voice of American Statemen, legislating for a Free People!

We, therefore, respectfully entreat your honorable body, by the rapid progress making in other nations in the extirpation of Negro Slavery from the earth, not to be the last to co-operate in this glorious cause.—We entreat you, by the respect you owe to yourselves, and to the opinions of markind—by the honor of our common country—and finally, by all that is held dear to the statesman, the patriot and the christian, to wipe away this foul reproach from the Nation, by fixing a period, after which every child born of a Slave, in the District of Columbia, shall be free.

D. RAYMOND .- Vice Presi. and Prest. pro. tem.

Attest,

Edwin P. AtLee, Secretary.

Baltimore, Oct. 28th, 1826.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by W. L. Stone, were adopted.

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, it is high time that the great constitutional question, as to the extent of the personal rights of citizens of the individual States, as citizens of the several States, should be definitively settled; Therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention cordially approves of the course which the New York Manumission Society has adopted in regard to the free people of colour, citizens of that state, who have lately been seized and immured in the prisons of Washington City, and Petersburgh, Virginia, upon the alledged suspicion of their being fegitive slaves.

On motion of S. Phillips, it was

Resolved, That it is recommended to each of the Anti-slavery Societies, to appoint a committee for the purpose of establishing like societies where they may deem it proper, and to forward to this Convention the titles of the Societies so formed, and their places of location, together with a list of their officers.

Adjourned to three o'clock. P. M.

October 28th, three o'clock P. M.

Stone,
Barton,
Earle,
Temple,
AtLee,
Raymond,
Kesley,
Allen,
Reese,

Present.

Bowdle,
Janney,
Phillips,
Kenworthy
Lundy,
Swaim,
Ferris,
Gibbons,
Rowland,

The Committee appointed at the last session to report concerning the transportation of slaves from one State to another, and the reception of their testimony; and the Committee appointed to propose measures for extending education among the coloured population, were discharged.

The resolution offered by T. Earle, at the last session, having been amended by the Committee of the whole, was after conside-

rable discussion, adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That the Convention would highly approve of the appropriation of an adequate portion of the revenue of the United States, for the voluntary removal of such Slaves as may hereafter be emancipated, to any count which they may select for their future residence.

The Ayes and Noes being called for, were as follows :

Ayes.

W. L. Stone, Thomas Earle,

D. Raymond,

William Kesley,

John Allen,

John S. Reese, David Harryman;

T. Bowdle.

D. Janney.

S. Phillips.

B. Lundy,

B. Swaim.

The following resolution, offered in connection with the above,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole in the adoption of the resolution offered by Isaac Barton, at the last

session, and amended as follows.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to give a decided preference to the products of the labour of freemen.

Noes.

Isaac Barton, Solomon Temple,

E. P. AtLee,

Benjamin Ferris,

William Gibbons,

, Joseph G. Rowland;

Jesse Kenworthy,

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

October, 28. 7 o'clock P. M. Convention met .- Present.

Stone, Barton, Earle, Temple, AtLee, Rowland, Ferris, Gibbons, Raymond, Kesley, Allen, Reese, Harryman, Bowdle, Smith, Janney, Phillips, Kenworthy, Lundy, Swaim.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole in the adoption of the following amendments to the Constitution offered at the last session.

Resolved, 1. That the word "and," immediately succeeding the word "Secretaries" in art. 3d, be stricken out, and the words, and three Counsellors, be inserted in the same article, immediately succeeding the word "Treasurer," and preceding the word "who."

2. That the following constitute Section 6th, Article 1st. viz.

Section 6th. The Counsellors shall be, ex-officio, members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects, as may claim the attention of the Convention.

The following resolution, offered at the late session, was taken up and considered:

Resolved, That the 2nd Article of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words, "in the city of Philadelphia," and inserting the words, "in such place as the Convention may determine," after the word "October."

On motion to adopt the same, there not being two thirds of the members present found in the affirmative, it was lost.

On motion, of Isaac Barten, it was

Resolved, 1. hat a Committee of five members be appointed, to prepare rules for the government of the deliberations of this Convention, and report to its next session.

The following members were named to compose said Committee-viz.

Solomon Temple, T. Earle, Jonas Preston, W. S. Stone, and W. Gibbons.

Resolved, 2d. That Benjamin Ferris, and William Gibbons is added to the Acting Committee.

Resolved, 3d. That the Acting Committee be authorised to subscribe for four copies of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, for the term of one year, and draw upon the Treasurer for the amount of the subscription.

Resolved, 4th. That the Acting Committee be directed to have one thousand copies of the minutes of the present session printed and circulated.

The Committee appointed on the morning of the 27th inst. reported an Address to the several Abolition. Manumission, and Anti-slavery Societies, which being amended, was adopted, as follows, viz.

To the Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-slavery Societies, throughout the United States.

It has been concluded by the "the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c." that before closing its present session, it would be proper to address you, on some of the important subjects which have at this time claimed its attention.

Under these views, and with an earnest solicitude that all peaceable and inoffensive means may be used by the friends of Universal Liberty, to promote the great objects of our association, it has been resolved by the Convention, That it recommends to the friends of the Abolition of Slavery throughout the United States, in the purchase of articles, the productions of our common country, to give a preference to those produced by the labour of Freemen.

This measure we apprehend will not only encourage the labours of the-freeman, by creating a ready and increasing market for his productions, but will produce a most beneficial effect on the mind of every c re engaged to bear this testimony against one of the deadliest enemies of our country's glory. It will keep our fundamental principles alive in his own mind—it will create many opportunities to spread the views of this association, and will qualify him to defend it by precept and example.

But while we would encourage our brethren in every part of the union, to use this, and every other peaceable means, to extirpate slavery from our favoured country, this Convention would re spectfully express our decided conviction, that no harsh or violent measures can ever promote this happy result. Hitherto, the cause of personal freedom has kept pace with the progress of conviction—it has never gone before, it can never be very far behind. It is therefore by frequent and dispassionate appeals to the reason and understanding of our fellow citizens, that we shall most successfully resort, for attaining the glorious object of universal emancipation.

It is a consoling truth, that reason and religion, the interest and happiness of man, individually and collectively—our country's glory and the welfare of our posterity—are all concerned in this object. And when the eyes of our countrymen shall be opened to their truest interests, these are motives which cannot plead in vain. Let us then, with patience and forbearance, steadily persevere in the path of duty—a path, illustrious from the magnitude of the object to which it leads, and hallowed by the footsteps of the worthies who have trodden it before us.

This Convention has also resolved, to recommend to the Abolition and Manumission Societies, throughout our country, to use their influence, by petitions to Congress, that slavery may be wholly abolished in the District of Columbia.

This Territory, under the exclusive jurisdiction of our National Legislature, should present no object that could offend the eye, or harrow the feelings of the votary of Liberty. The traveller from other countries—the diplomatic agent of foreign governments—and our own citizens from every part of the United States, should contemplate in this sacred spot, no object but such as would elevate in the mind the character of our institutions, and warm the soul with a rational love for every part of our country, and every branch of our Government.

There is another subject to which we would again call your attention—a subject fraught with importance to the speedy success of our cause. It is generally known, that the character and condition of the black population have been urged, by the friends of slavery, to repress the spirit of emancipation. Hence the importance of improving the circumstances of the people of colour, by every means in the power of the benevolent.

For this purpose, and the first in magnitude, is Education. In many parts of our country, institutions for imparting to the

children of Africa the benefits of literary instruction, are in successful operation, and thousands of them have been prepared, and are preparing, to make useful and honourable members of civil society. Some specimens of their improvement have been produced and exhibited to the Convention, and to the citizens present with us, evincing extraordinary attainments in some of the most important branches of an English education. We have been renewedly encouraged to promote this noble work, and desire the encouragement of our brethren in every quarter of our country.

Another mode of improving the condition of the free coloured population, we would respectfully suggest to you. Let their children, as far as practicable, be placed apprentices to tradesmen and mechanics. These, when they arrive at maturity, if they conduct with propriety, will acquire character and respectability.

We have also agreed to recommend to you, that exertions be made in the several States, to induce Legislators to enact Laws that will prohibit the separation of the families of slaves, and enforce the obligation of the marriage covenant.—Every thing that impairs the strength of this tie, tends to the degradation of man. No country ever attained to eminence in the arts of civilized life or intellectual improvement, where the marriage covenant was not generally held sacred.

We also recommend, that exertions be made to procure, in the several states, the removal of all existing legal impediments, in the way of educating the people of colour.

And lastly, brethren, we desire your encouragement in our holy cause. Every noble and exalted principle is on our side; and if we faint not, our success is certain. And may you be encouraged, not only faithfully to labour in your own vineyards, but, by every proper means, aid in the planting of others. Do all you can to stimulate your friends, your neighbours, or connexions, in different locations, to institute Manumisson or Abolition Societies. These will be the means of concentrating your strength—they will form rallying points for the friends of our cause—they will

spread the concern, and increase the happy number of those who shall partake with you in the rich reward of good works. Baltimore, October, 1827.

D. RAYMOND, Vice President, and Prest. pro. tem. EDWIN P. ATLEE, Secretary.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole, in the indefinite postponement of the 2nd Resolution in item 2d of the report of the Committee of arrangement &c. and in the rejection of the third item, of unfinished business of said report.

The Convention also concurred with the committee of the whole, in adopting the following resolutions, reported by the committee of arrangement, &c.

Resolved. That it be recommended to the several Manumission, Abolition, and Anti-slavery Societies in the United States, to use their influence in he several State Legislatures, to procure the passage of Laws, which shall

- 1st. Prohibit the seperation of the families of slaves, by sales of parts of them, to distant states or countries.
- 2nd. Regulate the marriage contracts of slaves, and guard and enforce their conjugal rights and duties.
- 3rd. Abolish all legal restrictions upon the instruction of the African race.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation in general and to each of the Anti-slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the members of the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, to use their exertions for promoting the formation of similar societies, in their states and vicinities.

'The following resolution, offered by John Allen, was referred to the consideration of the next Convention.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Anti-slavery Societies in those states into which the importation of Slaves is permitted, to present, or cause to be presented, to their respective Legislatures, petitions to prevent or limit the importation of slaves into the several states, so as to destroy the internal slave trade in this country.

The following resolutions for amending the constitution, were read, and laid on the table for consideration at the next session.

By John Allen. Resolved. That the constitution of this Convention be so amended, that on the request of members present, the votes shall be taken by states.

By T. Earle. Resolved, That Sect. 1st of Art. 2nd, of the constitution be so amended as to read thus:

The Convention shall meet on the Wednesday of October at Philadelphia, or at such other place as may be determined by the Convention of the preceding year.

By Isaac Barton. Resolved, That the 1st Sec. of Art. 2nd of the constitution be so altered as to read thus:

The Convention shall meet annually on the day of October: and the places of meeting shall be alternately at the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Adjourned sine die.

The Acting Committee, having examined the Communications from the societies in Ohio and West Tennessee, made an extract from that of the former. The views of the latter were considered different from those of the Convention, in some particulars, and the committee concluded it would be best to omit the insertion of any part of their Communication.

EXTRACT FROM THE COMMUNICATION FROM OHIO.

The object of this society is, to do all we can towards the entire abolition of slavery, first, by refraining from the use of those articles raised by slaves; secondly, by publishing essays, either original or selected, tending to throw light on the subject, and to shew that slavery is incompatible with the principles of christianity and contrary to sound policy; thirdly, by doing all we can for the relief of those within our state, by endeavouring to remove existing prejudices from the minds of those who are opposed to their having the privileges of freemen; fourthly, by petitioning the Legislature for the repeal of those laws, which stand opposed to their having the privileges of other citizens. We believe slavery a crime of the deepest dye that ever did, or ever will digrace any people, and that wherever equal rights and equal privileges cease, there slavery begins; and we also believe, that the conscious receiver is as bad as the thief, and therefore, if we act the part of true philanthropists, we cannot partake of articles the product of slavery.

We may preach to them with respect to the injustice of oppression, from youth to old age, and yet if we continue to pay them for wielding the lacerating scourge, and riveting the fetters, well may they laugh at our inconsistency, and continue in their wick-

edness

Article third of our Constitution.

No person shall be admitted to membership, unless he is in unison with the following propositions.

1st. I am opposed to every species of slavery.

2nd. I am willing to do all I can, consistently, towards the immediate abolition of slavery.

3rd. And when any of this class shall become free, I wish them to partake of the common privileges of other free citizens,

Nathan P. Grissell, William Blacklidge, Moses Allen, and Robert Lesley, are approinted a corresponding committee to communicate with other societies, similar to our own, or with such individuals as they may think will be disposed to advance the cause which we have espoused.

Our meetings are held on the first 7th day in each month, at .Sunsbury meeting-house, Monroe County, Ohio.

JOB M. WILLIAMS, President.

Moses Allen, Secretary.